1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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463 possess tea and coffee estates of their own. The rising
197 generation are, to some extent, learning Tamil and English, in addition to their own language, which is said to resemble old Canarese. And I have heard a youthful Badaga, tending a flock of sheep, address an errant
871 member thereof in very fluent Billingsgate. There were,
[867] in 1904–1905, thirty-nine Badaga schools, which were attended by 1,222 pupils. In 1907, one Badaga had passed the Matriculation of the Madras University, and was a clerk in the Sub-judge's Court at Ootacamund.

182 A newspaper discussion was carried on a few years ago as to the condition of the Badagas, and whether they are a down-trodden tribe, bankrupt and impoverished to such a degree that it is only a short time before something must be done to ameliorate their condition, and save them from extermination by inducing them to
[166] emigrate to the Wynād and Vizagapatam. A few have, in recent years, migrated to the Anaimalai hills, to work on the planters' estates, which have been opened up there. One writer stated that "the tiled houses, costing from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, certainly point to their pros-
426 perity. They may frequently borrow from the Labbai to enable them to build, but, as I do not know of a single case in which the Labbai has ever seized the house and sold it, I believe this debt is soon discharged.
241 The walled-in, terraced fields immediately around their villages, on which they grow their barley and other grains requiring rich cultivation, are well worked, and
527 regularly manured. The coats, good thick blankets, and gold ear-rings, which most Badagas now possess, can only, I think, point to their prosperity, while their constant feasts, and disinclination to work on Sundays, show that the loss of a few days' pay does not affect
• 181 them. On the other hand, a former Native official on

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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• 181 the Nīlgiris writes to me that "though the average Badaga is thrifty and hard-working, there is a tendency for him to be lazy when he is sure of his meal. When a 574 person is sick in another village, his relatives make it an (240) excuse to go and see him, and they have to be fed. When the first crop is raised, the idler pretends that 'worms' have crept into the crop, and the gods have to 426 be propitiated, and there is a feast. Marriage or death, of course, draws a crowd to be fed or feasted. All this means extra expenditure, and a considerable drain on the slender income of the family. The Rowthan (Muhammadan merchant) from the Tamil country is near at hand to lend money, as he has carried his bazar to the very heart of the Badaga villages. First it is a bag of rāgi (food grain), a piece of cloth to throw on the coffin, or a few rupees worth of rice and curry-stuff doled out by the all-accommodating Rowthan at a price out of all proportion to the market rate, and at a rate ranging from six pies to two annas for the rupee. The ever impecunious Badaga has no means of extricating himself, with a slender income, which leaves no margin for redeeming debts. The bond is renewed every quarter or half year, and the debt grows by leaps and bounds, and consumes 691 all his earthly goods, including lands. The advent of lawyers on the hills has made the Badagas a most litigious people, and they resort to the courts, which means expenditure of money, and neglect of agriculture." In the funeral song of the Badagas, which has been translated by Mr. Gover,* one of the crimes enumerated, for which atonement must be made, is that of preferring a complaint to the Sirkar (Government), and one of their (538) numerous proverbs embodies the same idea. "If you

* Folk-songs of Southern India.

kallu. There is, further, a platform, made of bricks and mud, called mandhe kallu, whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village. Strangers, who are not Badagas, are called Holeya. The Rev. G. Richter gives* Badaga Holeya as a division of the lowly Holeyas, who came to Coorg from the Mysore country. In front of the houses, the operations of drying and threshing grain are carried out. The cattle are kept in stone kraals, or covered sheds close to the habitations, and the litter is kept till it is knee or waist deep, and then carried away as manure for the Badaga's land, or planters' estates.

"Nobody," it has been said, † "can beat the Badaga at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be a Chinese gardener. To-day we see a portion of the hill side covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it, in a few weeks, to neat order. The unwieldy boulders, having been rolled aside, serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out cattle, etc. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface. The Badagas are the most progressive of all the hill tribes, and always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society."

Writing in 1832, Harkness states‡ that "on leaving his house in the morning the Burgher pays his adoration

* Manual of Coorg. † Pioneer, 4th October 1907.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

585 Kota musicians, and bring therefrom water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. The bride then salutes all her new relations, and they in turn give her their blessing. The ceremonial concludes with a feast, at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah (pial), and receive presents.

181 "Though," a correspondent writes, "the Badaga is simple, and his wants are few, he cannot resist the temptation of wine and women. The Badaga woman 586 can change husbands as often as she pleases by a simple 587 system of divorce, and can also carry on with impunity (837) intimacy within the pale of her own community. It is not uncommon to find Badaga women changing husbands, so long as youth and vigour tempt them to do so, and confining themselves eventually to the last individual, after age and infirmity have made their mark, and render such frolics inexpedient." A former Magistrate of the 578 Nīlgiris informs me that he tried more than one case, in 691 which a married man filed a complaint against another man for kidnapping or enticing away his wife for immoral purposes. The father of the woman was always charged as an abetter, and pleaded that, as no pariyam (bride price) had been paid by the husband, though he and the woman lived together as man and wife, no criminal offence could be proved against either the 595 father or the abductor. Polygamy is permitted, and the plurality of wives is a gain to the husband, as each wife becomes a bread-winner, and supports her children, and the man makes each wife superintend one depart- 587 ment of the day's work. Remarriage of widows is very common, and a widow may marry the brother of her 837 deceased husband. It is said to be etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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division between nature and society was expressed in a variety of ways. Clearest perhaps was the ethical prescription that while it is evil for a Badaga to kill people he does good in the eyes of the community *and of God* if he kills Kurumbas or tigers, 'since these are both murderers' (as the matter was once explained to me). The Badagas have always been what would popularly be termed a most superstitious people: they suspect the sorcerer's artifice behind every noise in the jungle, every unexplained malady, every strange event; and they glean a multitude of tidings, both good and bad, from the everyday behaviour of snakes, crows, jackals, cattle and dozens of other creatures and conditions that surround them. A further indication of the gulf between nature and society is perhaps that in their pre-British law the severest Badaga punishment short of hanging was ostracism—expulsion from the village; and this was reserved for the enormity of incest.[2]

For an Indian peasant society the Badagas have some quite extraordinary features, fit to provide enough exotica for any undergraduate anthropology course. This fact has not been duly appreciated by the dozens of ethnologists who have come to the Nilgiris and attached themselves with passion to the colourful Todas or the shy jungle tribes. The Badagas may outwardly appear a much more 'typical' Indian farming community, and yet they do not have true subcastes or multicaste villages; they practise hypergamy *and* hypogamy even across the vegetarian boundary; several forms of polygamy are acceptable; they have a sort of young men's house; marriage is permitted across generation levels to the point where a man may in theory marry a woman *and* her daughter *and* her mother simultaneously, and villages hold a memorial ceremony once in fifty years when every member of a generation has died. Add to these features the frequent ghost exorcisms, fire-walking and occasional massacres, and the anthropologist has much to explain.

THE TERRAIN

The Nilgiri Hills, also known as the Blue Mountains, constitute a massif some 1500 sq. km. in area, situated in southern India at the juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnataka Malabar and Tamilnad. In the British period it was an administrative unit of the Madras Presidency. Today the Nilgiris form one

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 [684] formerly a common practice for rich Badagas to hire forty or fifty Todas to go on wife-stealing expeditions, and carry off by force the wives of other Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 75). Today, while the practice of stealing wives may continue, assistance from the Todas is no longer required. A parallel situation in which gangs of Badagas used to help Todas steal wives is also recalled. In either case the assistants each received a few rupees.

[181] [609] Badagas are very fond of betting; and so when they meet informally a Badaga and a Toda sometimes have a bet over the possibility of their performing some athletic feat, such as lifting a boulder (Rivers, 1906, 597–598).

Medicine is another matter that can bring Todas and Badagas together. Although Todas have therapists in their own tribe they occasionally go to Badagas noted for particular kinds of cure (Rivers, 1906, 323, 634–635; for details of Badaga therapy, see Hockings, 1979b). A Badaga partner may help the Toda arrange treatment; but the therapist himself usually expects some fee or present from the patient.

(648) Todas are considered moderately powerful sorcerers, despite their own recent disclaimers. It was for this reason that the parties of Badagas who went to massacre Kurumbas always included one or two Toda associates to deliver 'the first blow'.[12] This practice has not recurred since 1900; nor have Badagas murdered a Toda sorcerer since that time.

A few affluent Todas (affluent because of illicit land rentals)[13] now live in Badaga-style brick houses instead of the customary thatched huts, as the houses are more spacious and comfortable. This habit began some eighty years ago (Rivers, 1906, 29, 634). The Badaga-style houses (distinct from modern government-financed housing) are built in a Toda hamlet by Badagas hired for the purpose but not necessarily by a man's Badaga partner.

Ritual Interaction

177 796 (224) A common setting for interaction between the two communities is ceremonial. On some Badaga festival days the Toda may be required to bring the sticks and make fire by friction or perhaps bring a new milking vessel. For the annual hunting ceremony of Be:da Sa:mi held by both Badagas and Kotas, the Toda used to bring clarified butter to smear on the weapons. Even so, no very

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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128 emic description of Badaga therapeutics insofar as the data permit, stepping outside that position to present etic observations only in the next chapter and the final two chapters where death and the organization of therapy are considered. The emic account is still quite partial, since it relies only on information from the therapists and other specialists, and does not show what the patients and their relatives think of illness episodes.

The Formulation and Spread of Medical Knowledge

757 177 1.10. Those familiar with the Ayurvedic and Sidda medical systems in India will doubtless wonder to what extent Badaga medicine is either derived from them or analogous to them. This is a question of some importance, yet the evidence does not support a connection. Of over 120 species which Badagas use therapeutically, only 49 are mentioned in the generally exhaustive, four-volume compendium, *Indian Medical Plants* (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933). An examination of the entries for those 49 species reveals that in almost every instance they are used for quite different types of therapy in Ayurveda than I have found they are in Badaga medicine. It must be realized that each of the 49 species is said to be useful in perhaps a dozen or so Ayurvedic cures; yet only six of these species had a role in *any* comparable Badaga treatment: namely for cough, melanoma, eczema, piles, ulcers, and the improvement of a child's appetite. Some species (e.g. black pepper) are "hot" in the Ayurvedic system but cooling in the Badaga one, or heating in the one (e.g. fenugreek) but neutral in the other (2.1, Table 2). The opium poppy is constipating in Ayurvedic medicine (Kirtikar, Basu *et al.*, 1933: I, 126), but *relieves* constipation in Badaga practice (6.55). We may also note that none of the Badagas' ailments or cures bears a Sanskrit name.

757 177 124 181 The Badagas do not think of Ayurvedic medicine as their own, nor do they view it as particularly effective. In 1963 I interviewed a random sample of 301 Badaga males and 119 Badaga females (all adult) from a wide range of villages. Table 1 shows their responses to the question, "Do you think that Ayurvedic doctors can cure all diseases?"

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Table 1. Attitudes Towards Ayurvedic Medicine

	Males	*Females*
"can cure any disease"	18.6%	14.3%
"occasionally may succeed"	25.2%	21.0%
"no: Western medicine is better"	2.7%	5.0%
unascertainable answers	53.5%	59.6%
	($N = 301$)	($N = 119$)

What these figures show is that only about a third of the respondents reported any faith in Ayurvedic medicine, and men expressed somewhat more confidence in it than women. On this question we do find a remarkably high level of non-response: people saying "I don't know" or not understanding the question. Their problem was that they were not all familiar with the sanskritic term *Ayurveda*. (The very low level of confidence in Western medicine is also notable.) In the light of these facts let us therefore proceed to examine how the Nilgiri medicaments are used, and how medical knowledge has been formulated by Badagas, without making any further reference to Ayurveda, since it is clearly a foreign system to them.

1.11. If recognized ailment X can be treated by herbs A and B, and recognized ailment Y is treated by herbs A, B and C, the different combination of herbs underlines that X is conceptually a separate ailment from Y. But what if A is the only pharmacologically active ingredient in either medicine? If it in fact has the same effect on both maladies, possibly they are one and the same from a scientific viewpoint: thus X = Y. If such equivalences in Badaga therapeutics could be identified, they would perhaps lead to a somewhat briefer roster of treatment. Why the present larger roster?

I think there are two reasons. One is that having a wider range of diagnoses and cures fosters the impression that therapists are in fuller control of illness, a topic to which we must return later (10.21). All therapy, we will suggest, incorporates an element of ritual and functions to reduce anxiety by it. If this is granted, then it follows that the more illnesses can be identified, the greater are the opportunities for reducing anxiety and fear in patients; whereas a minimal number of treatments could raise some doubts about whether therapy was worthwhile in a particular case.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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between the two, or between a father and his daughter, has often led to a divorce. 835 (593)

In the estimate of one good informant, when incest occurs within the family it is most often with an elder brother's wife, and less commonly with a son's wife or with the father's second wife when she is a man's stepmother. Mother/son, father/daughter and brother/sister relations are the rarest of all, if indeed they ever occur.

The above seven types of illicit relationship are listed in my informant's order, going from (*a*) the most common but least serious, to (*g*), the most uncommon and offensive. Despite the considerable amount of evidence collected on these various types, I was told by old people that it used to be thought a very bad thing for a husband to commit adultery, and if his wife or another person found out about it she would go to the village headman who would call a meeting of the council and then fine the guilty person: in adultery the man was always at fault. 128 837 684

Among Badagas the public attitude towards a cuckolded husband is that he is a foolish, weak and lazy man, for otherwise his wife could not have been led astray. However, his wife also loses all respect with the other village women, who may well fear that they could lose their own husbands to her too. Nor can the adulterous man expect any accolades for his behaviour. Today a case of adultery may go before a council, which can still fine the adulterer; or her husband may quietly divorce an adulterous wife; or he might give the adulterer a beating, provided he had some alternate explanation for it to offer his neighbours. 837 208 837 684 692

Attitudes towards extra-marital love and prostitution are clearly expressed in Badaga proverbs and legends. Witness the following still current proverbs: "Three things are equal to each other: a harlot, an adulterer, and a piece of ground which is always in danger of being washed away by a river" (Metz 1864: 97); "If the food is spoiled, the day is spoiled; if the wife is spoiled, one's life is spoiled;" "The immoral woman will not believe her own husband;" "The whoremonger will vanish away like a handful of wind" (Metz 1864: 98); and again, "Lust is deceitful, I have lost my blanket through it" (Metz 1864: 96). A few lines from an epic poem conjure up a vision of limbo that is worthy of Dante's *Inferno :* 181 539 831 548

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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'Oh brother, who are these
Most wretched of them all?
In naked shame they're bound
To rugged gnarled trees.
They ever seem to talk,
But none are there to hear.'
'Oh sister, you surely have heard who these are:
Abandoned and profligate women, who wandered astray
From virtue and home. They have nothing wherewith
To cover their shame. They are hungry and cold.' (Gover 1871: 85).

In short, there was a touch of puritanism in Badaga oral literature that was apparently more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The Consummation of Marriage

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3.8. The early part of this chapter has summarized some of the kinds of sexual activity and instruction that precede marriage. It is now time to analyze the sexual behaviour that accompanies a wedding. In doing so we shall not consider the symbolic aspects of the ceremony nor its sociological features; save only to mention that hamlets are exogamous, and the preferred bride is the daughter of one's father's sister, or otherwise a mother's brother's daughter is almost equally acceptable. In the Toreya phratry alone marriage with a sister's daughter is permissible, though infrequent. An ethnographic account of Badaga marriage may be found in Thurston (1909: 103-09).

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In the nineteenth century a form of trial marriage was engaged in. A young man might then approach a girl's parents, and if they liked him they would invite him to their house, where he would be feasted and allowed to sleep with the girl. In the morning she would express her opinion of the youth to her parents, and her mother would then signal to him the family's decision, by giving him a meal of curried meat or similarly rich fare if he was acceptable, or otherwise just some boiled rice with a watery vegetable relish. "The same freedom, however, that on the following morning is allowed to the female, is also allowed to the youth; and should any change have taken place in his inclinations, he walks away without further ceremony" (Hark-

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

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In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

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In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.

578 status than the other two groups of converts. Another unusual type of cleavage appeared in the Badaga Students' Association at Madras University: in this case, two factions arose among the Badagas, one admitting Badaga Christian members and the other remaining entirely Hindu.

•181 Factions thus appear to be a deep-seated element in Badaga social organization. Some appear in only a single village, others in only one phratry, while several have divided the entire Badaga community.

Analysis of Findings: Some Comparisons

12! One method of placing our findings into the perspective of socio-cultural change as an India-wide phenomenon is to compare these findings with those of other investigators. This is a necessary but perhaps not too satisfactory exercise, as so few studies are comparable with this one in their scope.

The most promising study for purposes of comparison is one done nearly a decade ago by T. Scarlett Epstein. Her detailed study of two villages in the Mandya region, some 70 miles north of the Nilgiris, shows how their economies and social systems have changed over the past 25 years (Epstein 1962). The span of her study is thus shorter than ours, but is still of sufficient length to document significant changes. The area is close enough to the Nilgiris to make the comparison particularly worth attempting. These two villages lie close to the ancient Badaga home-land, and as a consequence the cultures of the two areas still share much. On the other hand it is important to recognize that the Mandya villages are multi-caste settlements, whereas Badaga ones are not. The Mandya area is irrigated and grows sugar as well as rice; the Nilgiri area is not irrigated, grows neither rice nor sugar, but concentrates on producing tea, coffee and potatoes.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

142 field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg
[NT] says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

562 Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat
462 different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged
562 otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga
465 therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work
562 on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and
461 her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali (Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male
142 members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too
461 works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but
462 his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a
562 harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

181 Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District.
142 Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry,
461 and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

342 Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall called *Edirmané*,—front house. The

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

764 (539) 'May deaths cease, may sorrows cease, may everything be for our good; by the meritoriousness of our ancestors and by the meritoriousness of the ancestors of our ancestors. May this person (that has died) mingle with them':

After the bones have thus been passed round they are taken by (539) the three who displayed them and buried in a pit built of stone in the cremation ground with the following incantation:—

Doḍḍavar kunnavar śatli hatla
Akâlânda ikâlaga śattavakar śatti hatla
Kûṭṭá kuṭumba ellâ ondâgi hoqali

'May the young and the old that have died, may all persons who have died from time immemorial up to the present time—may all these mingle into one'.

There is no difference at all as to the ceremonies observed on the third day. Those Baḍagas who cremate their dead perform exactly the same ceremonies on that day as those who bury.

121 We have thus examined as far as is possible the origin of the Baḍagas, and have seen that they are most probably immigrants from Maisûr. We have noticed the chief characteristics of the race and have traced a Baḍaga from his birth to his funeral. It has not been possible to give an account of all the ceremonies and customs of this interesting people but the main ones have been described, and it will be seen that they are essentially those of an agricultural people. It has been seen how prominent a place the buffalo and 796 the *Hâgôṭu* or milk-house hold in their religious ceremonies. To 241 those already mentioned may be added the ceremony which takes place at the beginning of harvest when the first bundle of ripe ears of corn is brought home, husked, cooked with milk, placed in the 181 *Hâgôṭu* and eaten. The wants of the Baḍaga are few and his aspirations may be summed up in the following words:—*Kattadda erumê kareli bitta holu ellâ belêli*: 'May our buffaloes give us calves and may the fields yield us harvest'.

S. M. Natesa Sastri.